

# THE WORLD

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No. 7

# TOMORROW



## Goose-Stepping The Jobless

*Robert Wohlforth*

## What Is Farm Relief?

*Kenyon L. Butterfield*

## A Militant Mine Union

*John Herling*

**FEBRUARY 15th**

## De Valera's Victory

*H. N. Brailsford*

**10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year**



# The World Tomorrow

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## Ex Cathedra

NEW YORK apartment house owners are asking the holders of guaranteed mortgages to reduce interest on the mortgages from five and one-half per cent to four per cent. Three billion dollars in mortgages are involved. This request is an interesting index of what is happening to property values. Shrinking returns on property and consequent depreciation of values has practically wiped out all equities above bonds and mortgages and vested the ownership rights of the nation's whole property structure in the hands of mortgage and bond holders. The nation's wealth totals a little more than two hundred billion dollars at present prices, and the debt load is about the same amount. The rentier class, therefore, owns the nation. Thus capitalism has its own processes of expropriation, about which one hears little because it operates within terms of a system and no extra-legal means are resorted to. It is expropriation nevertheless. Our guess is that the mortgage holders will not consent to a voluntary reduction of their interest.

A Miss Phillips, president of the National Council of Women, told a woman's club in New York that most women's organizations were ineffective in seeking municipal reform and that they were sentimental in dealing with the problems of the depression. She called attention to the national congress of women to be held in connection with the Chicago World's Fair and said it would be a congress in which women would "dare to believe in themselves." "America is at a crisis," she said. "The time has come for women to work for the fundamentals that they have long believed in." Just what are the fundamentals that women, as women have long believed in? These appeals to the women to save the world leave us just as cold as appeals to youth to save the world. What women? And what young people? Appeals to a sex or to a generation as if they had special resources of wisdom are usually charged with sentimentality.

IT is too bad that the Canadian government has found it necessary to deport Peter Verigin, leader of the Doukhobors to Russia. Mr. Verigin is afraid that the Russians will kill him, and doubtless he will not fare gently at their hands. The Doukhobors are a pacifist sect who combine the theories of non-resistance with not too gentle a spirit. The Canadian government has had untold difficulties with them recently on account of their intra-sectarian squabbles. They ought really to be tolerated as an object lesson to those who believe that pacifists are too mild to be of any use.

A DOLF HITLER, having gained the coveted chancellorship, has let it be known that he will attempt no "cultural or economic" adventures. That means that the conservatives who are using him want neither inflation nor any anti-Semitic nonsense. All the poor deluded fools who swallowed his anti-Semitism will now have to see how they can free themselves of the virus with which he inoculated them. It was only election propaganda. As such it was dangerous enough and may still result in evil effects. But Herr Hitler is too busy for the moment in suppressing the Communists to bother about the Jews, except, of course, the poor Jews who happen to be Communists. They will feel the heel of oppression in a double measure.

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN declares that Britain has nothing to bargain with in its debt conversation with us. She is merely going to give us the privilege of cancelling the debts. Put in realistic terms this means that the Tory government does not want to touch the Ottawa agreements. They are sacred. At this point we turn nationalistic and hope that Roosevelt will put a little poison into those conversations. But perhaps the Britishers are so certain that there is no way of collecting the debts that they see no reason why they should bargain. In other words, it is not that they have nothing to bargain with but that we haven't.

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# THE WORLD TOMORROW

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## Hitler and the Middle Classes

The Hitler government in Germany is daily driving a deeper wedge between reaction and radicalism and making a final conflict between the Right and the Left practically inevitable. Its suppression of the Socialist paper *Vorwaerts* and its repressive measures against the press in general indicate a policy which must ultimately prompt the Communists and Socialists to some kind of common action. The older members of the Socialist Party are not ready for such action as yet, and the policy of the Communists to participate in a "united front" only if they are certain to be able to use it for the development of strictly Communist policies will prevent united-front actions for some time to come. But the more repressive the actions of the Right, the more certain it is that the Left will be ultimately welded together. The one hope of avoiding hostilities now lies in the chance of defeat for the von Papen-Hitler crowd in the March elections. Their defeat is in fact a strong probability.

The willingness of Hitler to let himself be used by the reactionaries, after he denounced the "cabinet of monacles" as the chief enemies of Germany in the last election campaign is revealing not only of the personal character of Hitler but of the character of the political movement which he is leading. The National Socialists are essentially a party for the impoverished middle classes. It comprises the white collar workers, the little farmers and the smaller business men. It has been financed from the very beginning by Big Business.

In order to secure the money from the business interests and to gain the votes of the little fellows it has followed a policy of equivocation not dissimilar to that of our own Democratic Party. But in the moment of crisis it has become the tool of the reactionaries. They needed its votes to stabilize their position and they got them by sharing the government with the power-hungry Hitler. This is a little parable which gives a rather neat picture of the political confusion of the middle classes in the entire Western world and of the use which reaction makes of this confusion.

The impoverished middle classes want a new deal but they have no clear idea of what the new deal is to be. They have an instinctive horror of any rigorous reorganization of economic life because they are afraid of losing their few advantages in an equalitarian society. They would like therefore to preserve the modern social system but correct some of its abuses. They express themselves in terms of nationalistic re-

sentments and anti-finance radicalism. They do not see that banks and high finance are integral to the whole structure of modern capitalism and that something more rigorous is required than inflation or low interest rates.

Their political confusion plays into the hands of the reactionaries, who know just where they are going and who have the astuteness and the social position to harness the fiery steed of middle-class discontent to their particular chariot. It was so in England, where the King learned how to tempt the vanity of a MacDonald whose middle-class socialism was not defined sharply enough to make the apostasy which the King suggested unthinkable. It is so in America, where Roosevelt rode to power on the wave of middle-class discontent. And so it is in Germany, where the fiery Hitler has finally led his poor middle-class lambs into the sheepfold of the reactionaries, where they will be fully shorn in due time.

The middle classes are a rather pathetic picture in the whole of modern civilization. They have more to gain from the Left than from the Right, but they do not know it. They are too individualistic to understand the true character of politics and too anxious to preserve their petty advantages to espouse the cause of radicalism. Thus they tend to give support to the reactionary elements in society and to make an ultimate conflict between reaction and radicalism more inevitable and more sanguinary. It might be claimed that their pacifism and natural abhorrence of strife is the very factor which will lead modern society into sanguinary civil strife.

## Ford and the Detroit Strike

When five thousand men struck in the Briggs works, a Detroit concern dominated by Ford and making automobile bodies for him, that eminent humanitarian let it be known that the strike represented a conspiracy of some unknown financiers who wanted to do damage to the Ford business. He has never elucidated this mysterious version of the affair or explained just how bankers could have influenced the workers to go on strike.

A committee appointed by Mayor Murphy to investigate the strike gives a much more credible explanation of the difficulty. It declares that the strikers' complaints concern wages, sanitation, overtime and working conditions. Wages, according to the committee, are in some instances as low as ten cents an hour. Women are working as much as 14 hours a day in this



time of unemployment. Sanitation facilities are totally inadequate. Production has been speeded up to the point where it has become a distinct menace to the health of the workers.

In other words, the whole dismal picture of modern industrialism is here revealed in its starkest outlines. The Briggs company has long had an unsavory reputation in Detroit. Mr. Ford's foolish statement about conspiracies against him were merely another effort to cover up his connivance with this kind of industrial brutality. He has tried subsequently to restore his badly tarnished reputation for humanitarianism by publishing his grandiose scheme for the decentralization of industry. Mr. Ford makes many promises, but meanwhile the lot of automobile workers is becoming daily more unbearable. Let the sentimentalists take the full measure of this "new capitalism," which only a few years ago was to open the gates of paradise to a suffering humanity.

## Geneva Makes History

The mills of Geneva grind slowly, but for Japan they are grinding exceedingly small. The Committee of Nineteen, as we have several times predicted would be the case, has formulated a report which staunchly upholds the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition of Manchukuo and includes the major recommendations of the Lytton Commission. Thus Japan is publicly stigmatized as a violator of the Covenant, the Kellogg Pact, and the Nine Power Treaty, and the position is taken that no permanent settlement of the controversy is possible until the sovereignty of China over Manchuria is recognized, and until Japanese armed forces are withdrawn from Chinese territory.

There is every reason to anticipate that the session of the Assembly which will convene within a few days will stand squarely behind the Committee of Nineteen. In this event the permanent domination of Manchuria by Japan is rendered extremely improbable. With the League and the United States allied in opposing this virtual annexation of Chinese territory, it is utterly inconceivable that the militarists of Japan can succeed with their policy of aggression. Even if the League does not invoke sanctions, a combination of moral, political, and economic factors will soon compel a reversal of Japan's policy. That Japanese militarists will declare war upon the whole world is entirely unlikely, and there is doubt that they will even give notice of Japan's withdrawal from the League.

This victory of the small powers at Geneva over the imperialists of Great Britain and France possesses epoch-making significance, and will enormously increase the prestige and influence of the League. It is far better to run the risk of having Japan withdraw from the League than to have the Covenant rendered impotent by the flagrant aggression of a great power.

## Sandino's Postscript

In the last few years not one but many messages have been sent by General Augusto Sandino to the American commanders in Nicaragua. Some of these have been couched in vigorous language and some touched with an ironic defiance. But now the erstwhile "bandit" has sent a message straight to the people of the United States, through a statement issued at Managua.

The statement followed upon Sandino's peace conference with President Sacasa, on February 2, in which terms of friendly relations were worked out, under which Sandino retires from military activity of a rebel character while his band of followers are granted permission to cultivate a restricted area of land under the guard of 100 picked Sandinista troops as police. "Why discuss the basis of peace?" asks Sandino, and proceeds to answer his inquiry thus: "It is our duty as Nicaraguans to establish it, as we are all brothers. I have nothing against North Americans personally; let them come and work here. However, for them to come as our bosses we should not accept. I send my regards to the American people."

May we be excused for thinking it more than sheer imagination if we see in the wording of this message some small reflection of the message conveyed to Sandino through his father in the Nicaraguan interior by a trio of courageous members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation who, several years ago, ventured into that disturbed land on a mission of peace and justice? They were Nevin Sayre, Carolena Wood, and Elbert Russell, and if they failed, they aroused in Sandino's father a realization that there were many citizens of the United States who did not share in the official policy of bomb-dropping and warfare in an imperialistic adventure. Their mission, too, paved the way for the excellent work done in subsequent years by Charles and Olive Thomson under the auspices of the Fellowship. And even though, in the vicissitudes of fortune, that work has had to be suspended because of the shortage of funds, much of it, we believe, will endure. Investments of that nature, unlike those supported by battleships and bombs, have a curious way of yielding returns, even though these come slowly and without the heraldry of trumpets.

As for Sandino, his campaign never accomplished much outside of its advertising value for the cause of Nicaraguan independence. Practically speaking, it achieved far less, in all probability, than a crusade of non-violent non-coöperation would have, with the same number of people and the identical circumstances. But though it did little of importance to change the situation, it has come to a close in a way which, with almost amusing abruptness, emphasizes to our people the hypocrisy and futility of our Nicaraguan buccaneering expedition.



## The Birth Control Bill

"For the first time, a birth control bill is before the Senate Judiciary Committee for a vote." With these words, the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control announces that its struggle, recently intensified, has come to a critical stage. If enough pressure is put upon the Judiciary Committee to show that popular opinion is behind the bill, which is known officially as S. 4436, there is a good chance that it will be reported, and favorably. A galaxy of medical men and women of national repute are backing the measure, and the fight at Washington has been directed by Margaret Sanger, supported by an able corps of faithful workers. It is high time that the anomalies of the present federal law were forever removed, and a sane law substituted, based on contemporary ethics and public health.

The present law originated in the era of Comstockia, many years ago. It identifies contraception with obscenity. Section 211 of the United States Penal Code prohibits sending or receiving by or from the mails either information or supplies pertaining to the prevention of conception. Section 245 accomplishes the same end with reference to the express companies. Sections 311 and 312 apply to the territories and districts and even prohibit the *possession* of any article designed to prevent conception. Section 305 prevents the importation of such articles. To none of these sections is there an exemption. Violators of these laws are subject to imprisonment for five years or a fine of from \$2,000 to \$5,000, or both imprisonment and fine.

The present bill would amend the above sections of the Penal Code by adding to each section the following paragraph:

The provisions of this section shall not be construed to apply to any book or information relating to the prevention of conception, or article, instrument, substance, drug, medicine, or thing designed, adapted, or intended for the prevention of conception, for use

- (1) by any physician licensed to practice medicine in any state, territory, or the District of Columbia, or by his direction or prescription;
- (2) by any medical college legally chartered under the laws of any state, territory or the District of Columbia;
- (3) by any druggist in his legitimate prescription business; or
- (4) by any hospital or clinic licensed in any state, territory, or the District of Columbia.

This change would not, of course, affect directly the various state laws, where prohibitions are sometimes as severe as the Federal law regarding the territories. But so long as Federal laws conflict with the more liberal state laws, progress is necessarily slow, and nullification, which is of course wholesale, will proceed with its cumulative hypocrisy. Again, the present legal situation only confirms the general difficulties with which the poor are confronted in so desperate a time as this, when they are threatened with misery and suf-

fering for the children they now have, let alone others which may be born to them. The time has come when a determined onslaught should be made against the obscurantism which thus far has operated to hold the poorer section of our people in an ignorance which tends to retard the raising of health standards and causes untold suffering and fear. The American Gynecological Society; the Section on Obstetrics, Gynecology and Abdominal Surgery of the American Medical Association; the Medical Women's National Association; the National Committee on Maternal Health, and numerous groups of clergymen and public welfare bodies have long since gone on record in favor of amending the present birth control laws.

## One More French Pioneer

Although we have not heard the story of Gerard Leretour from any foreign peace organization, and are ignorant of the details, from certain sections of the European press we have learned that this bold Frenchman has challenged the military juggernaut of the French Republic, and added one more name to the honor roll of those who have manifested the rare courage to refuse military service. Leretour's case is in a way the more remarkable because he fled to Belgium in the first place, rather than serve as a conscript in the army. Becoming imbued with a strong desire to clear his record, however, and to stand trial for his "crime," Leretour, according to the reports we have received, returned from Belgium, gave himself up to the authorities, and reiterated his unwillingness to serve as a soldier either in peacetime or during a war. Nothing could make him change his mind, he asserted, repeating his scruples against participation in war or war preparations. Imprisoned at Paris, Leretour immediately went on a hunger strike as a protest against conscription and war. Rather than face labor demonstrations and activities of pacifist groups in the capital city, the authorities transferred Leretour to Nancy, where, however, his strike was continued. After two weeks of his hunger strike, during which he would take nothing but lemonade, the war resister was ordered set free by the then Minister of War, now Premier, Deladier.

Leretour's act takes on all the more significance because of the rising numbers in France who have recently dared prison rather than submit to the war system. His example will have repercussions of no little importance in the long run, since France was one of the slowest countries, following the War, to produce even a single war resister. But once started, already the group of courageous young men challenging the French military regime have impressed by their bravery not only many observers outside of France, but significantly, many inside their own country as well. Even those who cannot concede any immediate practical vic-



tory over war in such tactics—and we are not among this number—must admit that in asserting their mind-force against so rigid a machine, they are demonstrating again the fundamental spirit on which all human change must be based—the willingness of bold spirits to pay a heavy price for even a small advance toward a new order of society.

## Democrats in the Saddle

The Democratic Party is now in power in almost all of the states of the country, having been put there last November by the widespread popular revolt against the reactionary policies of the Republicans. A number of Democratic governors have now been in office for a crucial month, and from their action we may form some conclusions as to the degree to which they are likely to put into effect those measures of social reform to which they were pledged by their national platform and because of which hundreds of thousands of citizens voted for them.

The National Democratic platform declared for old age pensions and for a system of unemployment insurance which were to be put into effect by state action. Governor George White of Ohio, however, in his inaugural message declared that now was not the time to pass an unemployment insurance act. Despite the fact that his committee had just produced the best report on the subject which has yet been published by an American commission, Governor White suggested a further investigation which would delay action for two years more. In Illinois, Governor Horner poured cold water on the request of the wives of the Progressive minors that he sponsor unemployment insurance, while Governor Lehman has certainly not aided the movement in New York. Nor, so far as our information goes, has Governor Ritchie of Maryland shown any tendency to implement the national platform by any state action. Governor Cross of Connecticut seems to be resting quietly on the recommendation of his state committee that no action be taken at this time. Nor is the record any better in the field of old age pensions. Governor Ely of Massachusetts, who campaigned for a more liberal old age pension law, is accused by the American Association for Old Age Security with trying rigidly to cut down the funds for the aged. Governor Moore of New Jersey is seeking to hamstring the pension measure passed by his Republican predecessors, while Governors Cross and White, who campaigned on this issue, seem to have shelved the subject now that they are again in office.

There is evidence that the liberal and labor groups are slowly awakening to the fact that they are being gold-bricked by the Democrats, who thus far do not seem to be fulfilling their campaign pledges. But whether the leaders of the liberal and labor groups will really learn anything from this lesson still remains to be seen.

## Obviously Insane!

If the fabled visitor from a distant planet should examine the various weapons of battle now available for use in another great war, he would be driven inescapably to the conclusion that the inhabitants of this earth are raving maniacs. Inventor Walter J. Christie has recently been giving demonstrations of a flying armored tank with a speed of 120 miles per hour through the air, 90 miles on rubber-tired wheels, and 60 miles on caterpillar chains. Says Mr. Christie: "Our nation would be impregnable with a tank corps of 10,000 flying tanks, and an aggressor nation would heed our diplomatic notes."

Across the Atlantic, the British army is being equipped with tanks that operate with equal ease upon land or in water, and that attain a maximum speed of 42 miles per hour. Vast numbers of airplanes are being built and huge quantities of poison gas could soon be made available in every industrial nation.

And so it is not surprising that General Pershing should write in a recent issue of the *Army and Navy Journal*: "It is now universally conceded that the most important step toward the prevention of war would be a substantial reduction in military forces throughout the world." But in another breath the same General Pershing makes a plea for armed preparedness, and repeats the old, old story that we were drawn into the World War because we were not prepared: "There can be little doubt that if we had been adequately prepared our rights would not have been violated, our security would not have been threatened, and we would not have become involved in the conflict, the misery of which humanity will long continue to suffer."

It is all very puzzling. The weapons of war are becoming steadily more devastating. The world desperately needs reductions in armaments. Nevertheless, our country should continue its reliance upon armaments as long as other nations continue to act as madmen. If there is to be another suicidal conflict, by all means let us be prepared to rush to the cemetery. And so the conclusion is unavoidable that dwellers on the earth are obviously insane!

## The Prospects for the Cabinet

Forecasts indicate that the probable composition of the forthcoming cabinet is on the whole as good as we had any right to expect. Senator Walsh, of Montana, is eminently fitted for the Attorney Generalship, as is Miss Frances Perkins for the Secretaryship of Labor. If Senator Glass, of Virginia, is appointed to the Treasury, that department will have as its head the most technically competent secretary of recent years, although one who is still Victorian in his ideas of "sound" monetary policy. Senator Hull is a sincere free-trader, who would add moral and intellectual distinction to any bourgeois cabinet. Henry Wallace, of



Des Moines, one of the ablest economic thinkers in the country and Professor M. L. Wilson, of Montana, are probably the best qualified candidates for the Agriculture portfolio.

It is apparent that Mr. Roosevelt is trying hard to be a liberal. We should be grateful that most of the leaders of the reactionary wing of the party such as Melvin Traylor, Albert C. Ritchie, John W. Davis and Owen D. Young seem to be eliminated. We are also convinced that it would be a great mistake, in spite of his ability, to appoint Newton D. Baker to any post where he could influence internal policy. Apparently we shall have to stand Mr. Farley as Postmaster General, but we hope that it will be possible to placate with an honorific, though not responsible, post that financial angel of Democratic campaigns, Mr. Bernard M. Baruch.

Mr. Roosevelt deserves full credit for his liberal intentions. He is apparently quite confident that he can not only reconcile the hopelessly discordant elements which are for the moment behind him, but cure the depression as well. We wish him well but we have our doubts.

## The Armament Struggle

In a sweeping drive to capture public opinion on behalf of undiminished and even increased appropriations for military purposes, advocates of vast preparedness programs have been appealing almost nightly over the radio and by means of public speeches and sensational press statements. That Congress is still sensitive to this sort of organized bullyragging on the part of our vested military and armament interests is shown by the readiness with which the House proceeded to restore the appropriations for the maintenance of Citizens' Military Training Camps and the R. O. T. C., reversing the recommendations made by Chairman Ross Collins of the Appropriations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Military Affairs. The American Legion, through its national commander, Louis A. Johnson, has made it perfectly plain that this militaristic organization intends to keep on with its crusade for large arms appropriations, and likewise its campaign to secure for its membership as many political plums as it can. The effort to squander public moneys on preparedness has even been carried into the state legislatures: a petition was recently received, for example, by the House of Representatives at Washington from the Connecticut legislature asking the government not to reduce further the present federal budget for the army and navy. When it is remembered that Connecticut has long been a center of the armament industry, the neat hand of political influence may be seen at its fiendish work. Senator Bingham, discredited in his home state and thrown out of office at the last election, has contributed as a farewell gesture

to the capital city an attempt to frustrate the resolution for an arms embargo desired by President Hoover and put through the Senate.

Containing wide and significant ramifications, this proposal for an embargo on arms is of the utmost national and international importance. Used wisely and impartially in the hands of a presidential superman, it might conceivably do a tremendous amount of good. It would make it possible, for example, for the Chief Executive to act in concert with other nations to prevent the waging of a war in one part of the world or another by barring altogether the shipment of war materials. Even though the chief danger of a general conflict today comes from the large powers rather than the smaller nations, such a use of this peace weapon would be extremely constructive. However, we have no illusions as to how it is most likely to be used. We are compelled to express some consternation over the way in which, by ordinarily thoughtful leaders of the peace movement, this arms embargo resolution has been unqualifiedly endorsed. It is our opinion that the measure might very easily be an unsuspected cause of war if used in the manner clearly anticipated by the wording of the resolution. The text is as follows:

Resolved, that whenever the President finds that in any part of the world conditions exist such that the shipments of arms or munitions of war from countries which produce these commodities may promote or encourage the employment of force in the course of a dispute or conflict between nations, and, after securing the coöperation of such governments as the President may deem necessary, he makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export, or sell for export, except under certain limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country or countries as he may designate, until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress.

Section 2. Whoever exports any arms or munitions of war in violation of Section 1, shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both.

The phrase, "except under certain limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes," leaves the way open for Mr. Roosevelt and his successors, either acting on their own initiative or that of outside countries, not only to determine which side in a conflict is to be the favored belligerent, but actively to throw the weight of the United States on one side in a war by the shipment of arms to one party while at the same time withholding them from the other. It would be difficult to conceive of a better way, given the appropriate circumstances, of engendering bitterness on the part of the particular belligerent which is to be stigmatized from the White House as deserving of our military opposition—for in effect, that is precisely what the shipment of arms to its opponent would be. It would incite to reprisals, possibly to overt acts,



perhaps even—again given the right conditions—to a declaration of war against us. It may well be that there are some values in the embargo proposal which justify a qualified and alert support of it by the peace forces; but in our judgment the cause of peace will be harmed rather than promoted by any backing of the resolution which is not openly and constantly accompanied by a realistic qualification of approval.

## The Lure of Athens

The way in which the depression is showing up the erstwhile "big shots" of business is again evidenced by the recent indictment for embezzlement brought against three members of the Stevens family. The Stevenses owned the Illinois Life Insurance Company and the LaSalle and Stevens Hotels, and to support the latter apparently milked the former. They also paid large dividends to themselves as the major stockholders in the insurance company when that organization seems in fact to have been bankrupt, and in general conducted themselves along lines which are by now altogether too familiar. The indictments were hastened by the fact that while the investigation was under way, Mr. E. J. Stevens applied for and obtained a passport which, when it was discovered, he declared that he had intended to use for a Mediterranean trip. There must be many who find a peculiar degree of envy permeating them as they think of Mr. Samuel Insull, sunning himself by the Acropolis, safe from indictment and prosecution, and it is quite possible that the list of eminent Athenians may swell.

## Conscience vs. Maryland U.

A victory of the utmost importance in the fight against compulsory military training has been won in Maryland through the decision rendered by Judge Joseph E. Ulman of the Baltimore Superior Court against the University of Maryland for refusing to allow a student to attend the University unless he took the regular compulsory military drill. Last fall, at the opening of the school year, two students, prior to registration, presented both in verbal and written form to President Pearson of the University, their conscientious objection to military training and a request for exemption. President Pearson gave these students—Wayne L. Lees of Washington, D. C., and Ennis H. Coale, of Bel Air, Maryland—to understand that in the past certain arrangements had been made to permit exemptions, and that this might again be the case. Refraining from military training, the young men undertook the other college work. On October 5, however, both students were suspended pending a decision on the matter by the board of regents. After postponed meetings, the board finally voted to refuse the students' pleas for exemption.

At this point in the proceedings, the Committee on Militarism in Education, which has long carried on a

splendid work for peace and freedom, and which had been aiding the boys at their request by presenting testimony to influence the college authorities toward a liberal judgment, secured the legal services of Messrs. John Henry Skeen and Reuben Oppenheimer, Baltimore attorneys, who entered upon the task of preparing a legal case for reinstatement of the students and their exemption from the R.O.T.C. courses. The lawyers performed their task with devotion, brilliance, and energy; and on January 7 the University authorities were forced to come to court to answer a mandamus petition on behalf of Coale, whose case had been selected as a test. Judge Ulman on January 24 rendered his verdict, which in no uncertain terms upheld the student and ordered the college to reinstate him and allow him to pursue his studies without taking military work at all. The following extracts from Judge Ulman's decision are significant:

The petitioner is a "religious conscientious objector". . . . The petitioner is sincere in his religious conscientious objections. Perhaps he is fanatical. Certainly he is one of a small minority in the youth of America. Coales' testimony and his demeanor upon the witness stand are utterly convincing. . . .

An analysis of the resolution of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted in 1932 and a comparison of the said resolution with the quotation from the Book of Discipline of the Society of Friends [supplied in the evidence] reveals no essential difference between the religious tenets of the Society of Friends and the Methodist Episcopal Church on this question. . . . Both religious organizations deplore war and the preparation for war. Both support their members in refraining from such activity. . . . Both leave to the conscience of the individual church member the manner and degree of his personal adherence to the established tenets of the church. . . .

Though it seems to be thought commonly that the Society of Friends is unique in this regard, Mr. Edward Needles Wright [in *Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War*] lists no less than twenty-six sects in the United States whose members subscribe to similar religious views. These citizens are entitled to full protection in their religious liberties as guaranteed by the federal and state constitutions. . . .

The disposition of Lees' case must in all probability await the outcome of the appeal which is to be taken from the decision of Judge Ulman, as announced in the Baltimore press, and carried to the Court of Appeals. Nevertheless, this appears to be a case where the college authorities, inspired by traditional and nationalistic ideals, have had to bow before a fearless judge, a sincere and effective war resister, exceptionally capable attorneys for the anti-militarist side, and the faithful, competent work of that foe of collegiate conscription, the Committee on Militarism in Education. We congratulate all hands—and particularly the University of Maryland, which, if it only had the good judgment to abide by the decision, has been given an opportunity to free itself from the stigma of militaristic reaction and stand forth as a genuinely educational institution.





## as Brailsford sees it

**M**R. DE VALERA'S victory in the Irish Free State elections ranks among those outbreaks of idealism of which nations are capable when their blood is heated by combat.

Man is not invariably an economic animal: he is capable in the mass, when his emotions are roused, of action that defies every reckoning of a sagacious materialism. There is a transient splendor in these performances that illuminates history, though it may distort it. One may think the reckless nationalism of Fianna Fail (as De Valera's party is called) an anachronism and an offence against that spirit of coöperation and good will among nations which must shape our future civilization. But there is a gallantry in its stand and an indifference to sordid calculations that extort a reluctant admiration. This little island faces a powerful antagonist unafraid, knowing already by experience his power to injure her. Nor has she the satisfaction, which often accompanies conflicts of this kind, of feeling that the world's public opinion is with her. The world for the most part is indifferent, if not hostile.

Every consideration of common sense and economic sanity should have insured the success of Mr. Cosgrave. He promised first of all, in rapid negotiations, which he said he could complete in three days, to end the quarrel with Great Britain. That would mean, first of all, the restoration of the British market for the Irish farmer's produce, which Mr. Thomas had closed by his penal duties. Ireland would return under more favorable conditions than she had ever known before, for she would enjoy under the Ottawa Agreement substantial preferences over Denmark, her chief rival in this market. Money would again flow into the farmer's purse, and he would be able, as he rarely is today, to meet his debts to the storekeeper and the bank, and to pay the wages of his laborers, if he has any.

Better still, Mr. Cosgrave promised a happy solution of the problem of the land annuities. There should be a complete moratorium for two years, and thereafter the annual payments should be halved. It seemed unlikely that Mr. Cosgrave would have made this confident and detailed promise unless he had obtained for it the assent of Mr. Thomas and the British government. These annuities, totalling some £5,-

000,000 yearly are the purchase instalments by which the Irish farmers obtained their land from the former landlords of the Protestant "garri-

son," with the guarantee of the British Treasury, under a series of Acts dating from the Gladstonian era. These payments, moderate enough in the days before the slump, had become, with the fall of agricultural prices, intolerably burdensome.

**T**HE same argument which the British government used to justify the scaling down of war debts applies in a less degree to these annuities, and there is no reason to suppose that the British government would resist its application. This line of approach Mr. De Valera was too proud to follow: "he would not go down on his knees," as he put it, "to a British government"—he preferred a one-sided repudiation, though he has an arguable legal case against Ireland's liability, which he would be willing to argue if the British government would consent to arbitration before a foreign judge. Mr. Cosgrave accepts the liability, but he promised, probably with British consent, to reduce it by half. From the farmer's standpoint it matters little who receives these annuities. Mr. De Valera did not propose to cancel them. He too would reduce them, but he would collect them for the Free State Treasury. The farmer's burden in either case was halved, but while Mr. Cosgrave offered to re-open his only foreign market, Mr. De Valera held out no prospect of any end to the ruinous war of tariffs.

That a majority, apparently a decisive majority, of the Irish Electors has rejected this attractive settlement and voted for a continuance of the war with England, is a startling event in this modern world. On the surface of men's minds it is primarily a decision of herd-instinct. This vote was cast in an atmosphere of war. To support Mr. Cosgrave was to desert one's own country mid-way in the national quarrel. Mr. Thomas had used an economic bludgeon against Ireland by closing the English market. By so doing he very clumsily illustrated the force of Mr. De Valera's case. Ireland, so long as she depends on this single foreign market, which her Imperial mistress opens or closes at will, is only nominally independent. She is still, whatever political autonomy she may seem to enjoy, at the mercy of another power. Better, ar-

### De Valera's Victory



gued this unflinching idealist, be poor but free. Foreign trade may decline: imported luxuries must be dispensed with. The standard of life will fall, but Ireland, sufficient for herself, will at least be her own mistress. This argument had power over a race which cherishes the painful memories of oppression. Denmark, you may say, stands in the same relation of exclusive dependence on this same British market, yet never doubts that she is free. But Denmark has no recollections of a British conquest. She is not the debtor of this Imperial creditor, nor would London hesitate, if in her case a dispute should arise, to accept a neutral foreign arbitrator.

**E**VEN so, this argument might not have won Irish adherence in a healthier state of the world. But looking round this planet, the intellectuals of Fianna Fail perceive that the whole top-heavy system of capitalist international trade and finance is crumbling. England, more dependent on open markets, sea-borne trade and financial confidence must suffer, they argue, more catastrophically than any other power. This market is dwindling visibly, and had begun to vanish even before Mr. Thomas imposed his duties. English workers, their wages sinking, while one in four draws the "dole," cannot buy an unlimited quantity of Irish bacon and eggs. Prices had fallen to a level at which export meant, for some of the farmer's chief products, selling at a loss. Apart altogether from the political quarrel, would it not be wiser to aim at independence of this precarious market, and to grow wheat for Irish mouths rather than beef for John Bull?

So Mr. De Valera's ministers talked of a Five Year Plan which would assure Ireland's economic self-sufficiency. Already some of the grass lands of Meath have been ploughed up to grow subsidised grain, and in the towns little industries are springing up under the protection of a high tariff, to make what England used to sell. The scheme is not wholly fantastic. Ireland draws cheap and ample electric power from the national Shannon station—she need no longer import English coal. Iron, indeed, she wholly lacks, and will have to buy machinery by dumping her produce at a loss. Some few of the new industries may be sound ventures. Ireland ought, for example, to make boots from the hides that she has hitherto exported. But the motive for this new departure is not in reality economic. It very closely resembles the emotional policy of the German *Nazis*. They too despair (with an approach to enthusiasm) of international interdependence. They too aim at self-sufficiency. They also have flung off foreign debt (in the shape of reparations), and, finally, they too profess some vague quasi-religious social creed. In moments of heightened feeling, Fianna Fail professes "Christian Communism," though I failed in a recent visit to Dublin to discover what are its tenets.

**A**LL this may interest the intellectuals of Dublin, though with few exceptions they are in the Cosgrave camp. It cannot mean much for the small farmers, the poorer peasants, the crofters and fishermen of the Gallic West, who form the main body of Mr. De Valera's following. Yet they feel as directly as any set of men on earth the shrinkage of the international market. They used to sell their labor in the United States. The quota, not to mention the slump, has closed that outlet. For several years now, the young men and women of these too numerous families wait, in despairing idleness, on the minute family holding, for someone who will set their sturdy limbs to work. They do not reason as an urban proletariat world. Of socialism they know nothing. Russia for them is Antichrist, for they are devout and unquestioning Catholics. And yet in these simple minds there festers a sense of wrong, a feeling that they are hemmed in, a will to strike out a new pathway, that are in essence revolutionary. They begin by a blow at the traditional enemy. As they strike it, they loosen a bond of debt, and feel in doing so a sense of liberation. Ranged against them they see the propertied class, such as it is in Ireland—small employers, big farmers, bankers, and storekeepers, who in effect are money-lenders. Obscurely, and only half-consciously, it is a class struggle that is dividing the Irish nation. The new industries may make an outlet for some part of this rural proletariat, but debts and taxes will be the issues round which the struggle will turn.

Mr. De Valera seems securely seated in power for several years to come, but he must deal with economic difficulties that would intimidate any less courageous man. A settlement with England there cannot be while he reigns in Dublin and Mr. MacDonald in London. If this unusual man has won an unexampled victory, his success is at once a tribute to the power of memory, and a symptom of the sickness of capitalist society. If Ireland is violently nationalist today, the reason lies as much in an America which cannot import her labor, as in an England too poor to buy her food.

*H. N. Brailsford*

Chicago, January 30, 1932

### Who's Who in This Issue

**Robert Wohlforth**, since leaving West Point Military Academy, has had considerable journalistic experience and has recently contributed articles to various publications exposing militarist activities in this country.

**Kenyon L. Butterfield**, former president of Michigan State College, is the author of "The Farmer and the New Day" and other works on rural problems.

**John Herling** is executive secretary of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.



# Goose-Stepping the Jobless

ROBERT WOHLFORTH

THE newest solution for unemployment comes from certain advocates of military training and large armaments. Two startling innovations, proposed by amateur and professional military men to deal with the jobless worker "once and for all," have recently been gaining support. The drive to retain the C. M. T. C. has been won in the House, and new drives may be expected. First, it is proposed that taxpayers' money be spent for huge armed forces so that these "guardians of law and order" can keep the disaffected unemployed in line. Second, it is proposed that the hundreds of thousands of homeless young men roaming the country be rounded up and placed in emergency Citizens' Military Training Camps, there to be drilled and made into useful citizens by Army officers.

These proposals may seem but the vain wishes of military enthusiasts. But if we remember that our military expenditures for next year promise to exceed those for this year by \$2,000,000, and that bills to militarize our homeless wanderers now pend in Congress, these proposals become of serious consequence to our national welfare.

Perhaps these two military nostrums for unemployment will be rejected as absurd and fantastic by our citizens. But in many quarters they are taken seriously and are accorded vociferous support. In part, they are being made the basis for a drive for larger military appropriations at a time when federal funds are desperately needed elsewhere. They point to increased influence by military men in these times of economic distress and perilous international maladjustment, times when military activity and interference should remain at a minimum. They offer the harassed public official a quick and easy way out of embarrassing local situations. And as hunger march follows hunger march on Washington they tend to give the military man, with his hardboiled attitude toward the unemployed, an importance and reputation for practicability quite unwarranted by the facts.

The second proposal finds more supporters. The hundreds of thousands of homeless young men who roam the country are an increasing burden on our communities. Any plan to remove these unfortunate young men from the "road" finds instant response throughout the country. Advocates of military training hope to set up hundreds of Army training centers on the lines of the Citizens' Military Training Camps for these young men. They want these homeless boys brought together in large groups under Army administration and direction, clothed, housed, fed and drilled by Army officers and kept from aimless wandering.

That is as far as their plan goes. By this means it is assumed that much of the floating unemployed will be eliminated—or at least removed from the public eye.

It has long been military theory in the United States that the strength of our armed forces is dependent mainly upon man-power, not upon military implements. For instance, the War Department premises of mobilization and efficiency are based on numbers: the bigger the Army, the better it is. In all their efforts to wrest greater appropriations from Congress the Army's chief demand has been for more men, more officers, more trainees. Never do they place the implements of war—tanks, gas, guns—on a plane of importance with men.

Thus when some of our Army leaders became aware of these hundreds of thousands of homeless young men they regarded them as a favorable act of God, who, in his wisdom, had made them available for military service. Their plan for organizing these homeless young men under a military regime ignores entirely the dangerous and questionable implications inherent in such a scheme.

IN the first place nothing whatever has been said about cost. In some vague way the proponents of militarization for the unemployed hope they can operate under the present budget of the War Department. But the Chief of Staff, General MacArthur, in his annual report just issued, blasts any such hope. He says, "the budget estimates submitted to Congress represent only the amounts on which the present military establishment can be temporarily maintained." Any plan of setting up emergency training camps will cost the taxpayer more money. The regular summer C.M.T. Camps cost nearly \$4,000,000 to train less than 40,000 young men, or roughly \$100 per trainee. These trainees average about 30 days in the army. To equip, train, house and feed 200,000 young unemployed—the minimum estimate—would cost the taxpayers \$20,000,000 per month, or about 240 millions per year. It has been conservatively estimated that there are upwards of a quarter million young men aimlessly wandering about. Some estimates reach a million. To train even a minority would be an intolerable burden.

But more important than the mere cost of such an undertaking are the national and international effects of enrolling a large body of men under military administration. Our standing army would be more than doubled by these 200,000 men under military direction. At a time when efforts are being made to



bring about reduction of armaments this increase in our effectives would stimulate armament building everywhere. The plea that we are solving a portion of our unemployment problem by recourse to military training would fall on deaf ears in every capital of the world. It would radically alter our foreign policy and everywhere create distrust.

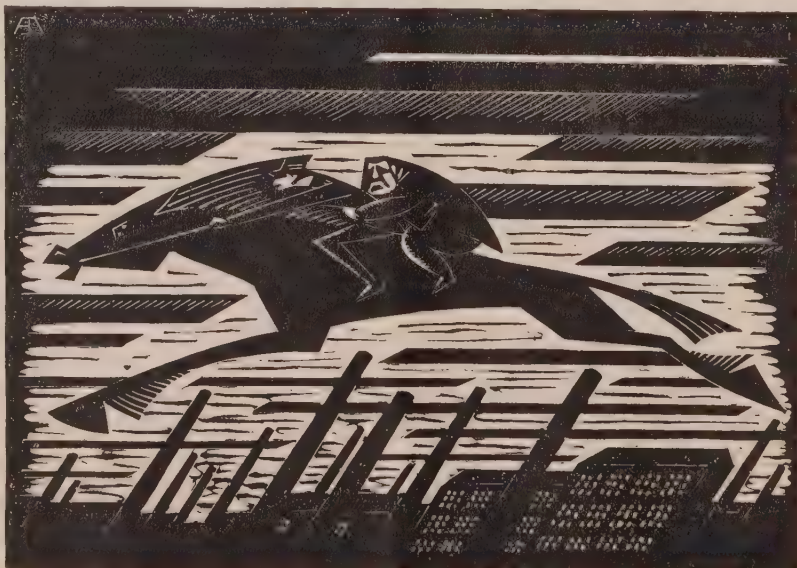
It is argued that the C.M.T.C.'s are mostly educational in value and that one of their important functions is to teach citizenship. Thus, it is reasoned, these homeless young men would benefit from being enrolled in Army camps. The facts, however, do not bear out this contention. The War Department is not charged with the dissemination of citizenship ideals in this country, although in recent years it has attempted to take over this function when engaged in training young men. The value of military training to the young man himself is still a question of debate among educators and the balance of opinion holds that it is practically worthless in educating a young man for the duties of a citizen. Moreover, the type of citizenship for which the War Department stands is another questionable matter. Its pamphlet on citizenship, which until recently has been used as a handbook by officers, contains much matter that has been vigorously attacked for years both in Congress and out.

According to this pamphlet such things as the initiative, referendum and recall, the popular election of judges are taboo. It points out that we do not live in a democracy, which "results in mobocracy" and "negates property rights" and has "been repeatedly tried without success." We have a republican representative form of government under which the "people are permitted to do only two things; they may vote once every four years for the executive and once in two years for members of the legislative body." Outside of that the War Department holds that the good citizen should believe that the "Railroads, telegraph and telephone companies conduct their affairs to the benefit and profit of the nation." He should believe that America's great wealth "has been distributed to the enrichment of her entire population"—surely a dubious teaching to present to homeless unemployed men! The

War Department, if it ever gets its hands on our unemployed, will teach a lot of other things supposedly important. It will teach that socialism, anarchism and communism are synonymous and that pacifism is equally abhorrent. "Pacifism is baneful," the War Department's manual states. "It promotes distrust of country, is destructive of patriotism and coöperates with destructive forces for the overthrow of national institutions." If this is the sort of citizenship we want our young people to secure, then we can expect the spirit of peace in our youth to vanish. Indeed the pamphlet makes a direct reference to education for peace by lumping all efforts for a broader international outlook under the heading of "Destructive Idealism." This is defined as "an attempt to undermine the nation from within" and it is "more serious than the threat of armed forces from without." The trainees of the War Department are not permitted to question these teachings for it is prescribed that the "citizenship" course be taught by the "didactic method, without discussion and without argument."

THE proposal of amateur and professional military men to deal with unemployment by securing larger armed forces that will guarantee "law and order" is equally indefensible. Few persons have the temerity openly to advocate a large Army because of a fear of internal disorders, but the military man considers this sound doctrine. Major C. B. Shaffer, O.R.C., consulting engineer of the Koppers Products Co., of Pittsburgh, appeared last year before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Military Appropriations and appealed for more funds for the Reserve Corps. Part of the testimony went like this:

*Major Shaffer:* "I am glad to be able to come here today to say a few words in behalf of the Reserve Corps. We have a situation in Pittsburgh, in that district, on account of our various manufacturing plants, which is extremely vital to the welfare of the entire nation. . . . No doubt several of you saw that march from Pittsburgh to Washington [Hunger March, December, 1931] several weeks ago . . . that same eight or ten thousand men went back to Pittsburgh and last



*From a drawing by Albert Daenens.*



Saturday in the Pittsburgh stadium there were 62,000 people who were addressed by the same men who led this army. So far they have been entirely orderly. But something might happen to excite those men; they might be incited to something and that same condition could occur in any large manufacturing territory where we have a good many foreign-born persons. That is the reason I mention it. Being from Pittsburgh, we are fearful of our city and its good name and what might happen in an emergency. . . . You understand that those 62,000 people represent one half the entire number that are in the Officers' Reserve Corps today. That is something to keep before you, 62,000 people in only one district."

*Mr. Collins* [Representative from Mississippi, Democrat, and Chairman of the Committee]: "But don't you think we ought to try to find some way to give those men jobs?"

*Major Shaffer*: "Yes; that is true, but we do not want to lock the stable after the horse is gone."

*Mr. Collins*: "I do not understand your statement about keeping the Reserves and other organizations intact so as to keep in curb these men without positions."

*Major Shaffer*: "I mentioned them to indicate a serious situation which might arise, that I think has a bearing on our development of a national defense."

*Mr. Collins*: "Do you think that maintaining a large military establishment will keep that situation in check?"

*Major Shaffer*: "As long as that situation exists, I think we should give it due consideration. We have in Pittsburgh a skeleton regiment of the National Guard and the closest Army post is in Ohio, and in case of emergency the skeleton regiment could turn out and organize in short order. We hope you will be able to give us our requested amount and even lean over backwards to help the air squadron in enabling them to receive training."

What prompts the military men to take this attitude and ask for more money is the belief that they are the only truly loyal citizens of the nation. Just after the lamentable Battle of Anacostia Flats last July, when the B.E.F. was routed, there appeared a revealing column in the *Army and Navy Journal*. Over the pen of its weekly columnist, "M.I.N.I." the *Journal* discovered that through the bravery of General MacArthur "sedition will seek cover and disorder will end. . . . However one may view the influx of veterans, Communists and others of like ilk to the national capital . . . the fact stands out that in the final analysis, it is the regular forces upon which the government relies for preservation of law and order. The country can be certain of the flawless loyalty of the Army and Navy and Marines, and the men who hold reserve commissions."

From being possessors of "flawless loyalty" to our country, it is only another step for the military men to want to exercise their fidelity. The Bonus Army evacuation gave them a taste of action, and though it was a minor piece of police work, it left a different impression upon the military mind. They thought it great stuff and believed the twaddle about "a national emergency" that emanated from the War

Department. In all the various civilian components of the regular Army the sentiment was felt that the showdown had come at last and that great issues were at stake. They manifested no surprise when it was revealed that special orders had been issued for the Illinois National Guard to use "live ammunition" when dealing with rioters. They itched to assume power, voicing their faith in force and regimentation.

From several other quarters this attitude of the military man has received whole-hearted support. Representative Robert H. Clancy, of Michigan, related a touching episode on the floor of the House which moved him to declare for a larger army. He said:

"I wish to emphasize that we today face domestic dangers. In my city I was caught in a riot of communists and I saw one or two fellows, unarmed, attack eight or ten policemen who had clubs and were armed.

"When I have 150,000 men in my city out of work for two years and who have 700,000 women and children dependent upon them who are absolutely desperate, I would not be a bit surprised to see street fighting in my city next winter. . . .

"I emphasize again that the Reserve forces of the United States must be maintained not only for national defense against foreign aggressors, but as a first line of defense in case there are riots and disorders and attempts to overthrow the government by mobs in some of our larger cities. . . ."

This "give 'em bullets, not bread" philosophy strikes many a responsive chord in hearts that beat under a Reserve Corps or National Guard insignia. Apparently there is plenty of money for training, arming and instructing young men to shoot down starving workers when they protest against the cause of their misery. It will be done in the name of national defense and of maintaining national institutions, for the military are essentially a static force, pledged to preserve the status quo and resist change. All history shows that the military are rarely in accord with social betterment or on the side of the workers. Its very being depends upon the permanence of the established order—or as Major General Smedley D. Butler, United States Marine Corps, put it, upon "bill collecting for the capitalists"—and in the final analysis the military man's loyalty is not to his country but to his profession.

Though the winter has brought amazingly few serious clashes between the military and the unemployed, the danger grows greater as distress becomes despair. For days before the last hunger march on Washington the press carried stories asserting that the "Capital Decides to Deal Sternly With Marchers—Army, Navy, Marines and National Guard Available If President Calls Them." Again and again the military forces are apt to be called in to deal with an essentially economic problem. When this becomes current practice, when the military are accepted as practical and competent administrators for our unemployed in however modest a capacity, then we are but one step removed from the disintegration of the established order.



# What Is Farm Relief? \*

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

THE American farmer is on the edge of catastrophe. This ominous fact is obscured by several characteristic attitudes of present-day urbanism. Public opinion, dominated by the city's point of view, found it easy during the days of plunging prosperity to discount the "hard luck stories" that accompanied the period of eight or nine lean years for the farmer following 1920. The general debacle of 1929 gave the non-rural people troubles of their own to meditate about. The consciousness that the economic status of 30 million farm-dwellers is a matter of concern to trade and industry has but slowly percolated into the urban mind. Even now the edge of urban interest is dulled by the redeeming grace of farming: that so long as he can retain a piece of land to "work", the farmer is neither unemployed nor in danger of starving.

The more obvious aspects of the present agricultural distress are four in number:

1. The ratio between the table-land of prices farmers get for their products and the prices they pay for supplies and services. Since 1920 the farmers have been seriously disadvantaged in this respect and at present are handicapped nearly two to one.

2. An increase of mortgage indebtedness in 20 years from three to ten billion dollars, which does not affect all farmers but unfortunately does lie on the backs of those farmers living on some of the best land and needing considerable capital.

3. Changes in the value of money, the effect of which seems to be more serious upon the farmers than upon groups that can make more rapid adjustments.

4. An increase in taxation which represents not merely a general tendency, but which, in view of the range of farm prices added to fixed interest charges, makes taxation almost confiscatory.

This situation begins to appeal even to a public interest now thoroughly saturated with depression psychology, because we begin to see that the American farmer, who, with all his faults and all his difficulties, was until 1920 on his way up, has since that time been steadily on his way down. If such a course persists, it will mean nothing less than catastrophe for the farmer and will put a heavy burden upon the general economic structure of the entire country.

What is to be done about it? During the last decade there has been a series of laws enacted that represent a very considerable endeavor to assist the farmer. They have not availed to avert the decline—they may have modified its speed. Measures proposed by the

farmers, doubtless radical in character, have either failed in Congress or have received the presidential veto. The Hoover Farm Board was not an agrarian project. The incoming administration has promised legislation at an early date. There are two approaches to this question, interrelated doubtless, but to be rather sharply distinguished in practical steps. One is "farm relief"; the other is the abiding rural problem. We may hope that relief measures will be sound and permanently helpful. But primarily they are designed for an emergency, and in an emergency measures may be quite justified that would be rejected in long-term planning.

THREE forms of relief are now under discussion: relief from a price level for farm products seriously lower than the price level for non-farm products; relief from a debt too heavy to be borne; relief from a monetary deflation that aggravates the other two difficulties. A fourth form of relief is demanded, namely, lower taxes; but this is a matter largely for state and county governments to deal with, whereas "farm relief" involves mainly Federal legislation.

Relief from the disparity between agricultural and non-agricultural prices is contemplated in the domestic allotment plan, which has recently been modified to a "farm parity plan." The essential principle of the earlier plan was "paying producers a free-trade price, plus the tariff duty for the part of their crop which is consumed in the United States." For the part that is exported the farmer would get the world price. Growers would be allotted the right to sell in the home market, and consequently overproduction, normally stimulated by higher price, would be prevented. It was intended to apply experimentally at first only to wheat and cotton—major crops with a large traditional export outlet. The plan finally agreed upon by the farmers' organizations has changed the basis of the excise tax from the tariff rate to the sum representing the difference between current price and pre-War purchasing parity. It is to apply also to tobacco, hogs, and possibly dairy products.

Will the allotment plan work? Nobody knows. Agricultural economists are sharply divided in their opinion about its practicability. Should it be tried? By all means. The farmers have been pressing for ten years to get legislation that will give them that parity of price that they consider elementary justice. All their efforts have come to naught. Alternative legislation, like the Farm Board scheme, has not availed.

This plan, like its predecessors, the McNary-

\* This is the first of two articles by Mr. Butterfield dealing with the farm problem.



Haugen scheme for an equalization fee, which twice had a presidential veto, and the debenture plan, which never passed Congress, was based on the tariff, and conformed to the plea which the farmers have made for years that the tariff should benefit them as fully as industrialists. Unlike its predecessors, the allotment plan provides for the restriction of production.

There are farm commodity interests in opposition to the plan, as there will always be in so complex an industry as agriculture. The criticism that it will raise the price of products to the consumer seems beside the mark, for it is a bit difficult to see how the farmer can get a fair price unless the consumer will pay a fair price. Moreover, any additional gains on the part of the farmer will immediately be spent for goods and services that he does not himself provide. It is a serious question whether the change of basis in the plan, from fixed tariff rates to shifting price differences, may not have been economically, tactically, and practically, a mistake. But some such scheme as the domestic allotment plan should be tried.

THE second form of aid, debt relief, is contemplated in the mortgage emergency plan. It is sometimes asserted that the increase of farm mortgage indebtedness is the result of speculative land buying. There was some such buying during the War, but it accounts for but a small proportion of the increase. Legitimate farm purchases for owner's use, ten years of reduced prices and of increasing taxes, high prices for farm and household equipment, and doubtless to some extent the endeavor to maintain a standard of living which includes an automobile, high school and college education for children, and so on, have brought upon the farmer this unprecedented burden of debt. The farm organizations have agreed on measures involving private adjustments between mortgage holders and their debtors, extension of terms by Federal Land Banks, arbitration boards for local adjustments, and Federal legislation and financing that will permit a refunding of farm indebtedness at a lowered rate of interest—possibly as low as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

The "honest dollar" plan constitutes the third approach to relief, protection against a deflated currency. The farmers have often been accused of being "soft-money" advocates. Broadly speaking, they feel more acutely perhaps than any other class the difficulties of adjusting themselves to shifts in monetary values. They are not so much inflationists as deflationists. They demand a stabilized currency. At the moment there seems to be no monetary measure which farm organizations are sponsoring, but there is little doubt that if some formula could be devised that would guard against excesses, the responsible farm leaders would coöperate with those economists and financiers who recognize that the farmer has some claim to consideration at this point.

THERE are, rather obviously, two main questions as to these plans: Can bills embodying the plans be enacted into law? Will such laws "work" economically?

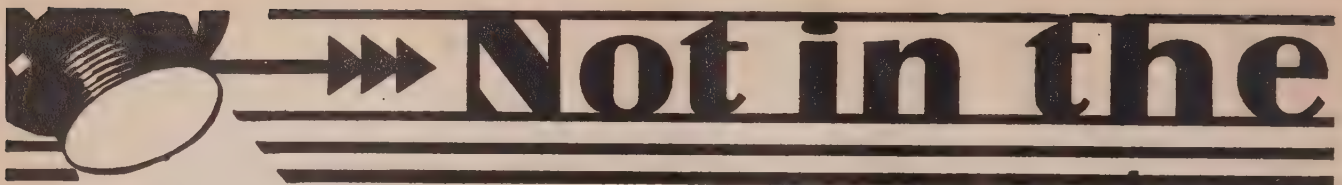
The political phase reveals factors apparently basic in American affairs and destined to affect agrarian legislation for an indefinite future: first, the competition of commodity interests among farmers themselves; and second, the country-city economic conflict. If wheat is to be favored, why not dairy products—or peanuts? And why wheat at the expense of dairymen who would purchase for cattle-feed some of the products of wheat? And why again wheat, at the expense of consumers of bread, which means everybody? As with price, so with debt and money—how justify legislation for the benefit of a group?

Nevertheless, the chances are in favor of the enactment of legislation along all three lines. The number of cotton growers, wheat farmers, producers of hogs and corn, and mortgaged farmers, and the general body of farmers driven to the wall, are in combination probably irresistible. Moreover, the Democratic Party is seriously pledged to provide farm relief. No one knows whether the party would have won if the rural vote in the North had followed its traditional allegiance; but it is perfectly clear that the overwhelming "mandate" laid upon the new administration is for distinctive agrarian legislation. The chief danger is that bills may be passed so loaded with qualifications that out-and-out plans for specific forms of relief may not get a fair chance in the operation of the laws actually enacted.

In plans for farm relief the reduction of farmers' taxes must not be overlooked. However, unless we can evolve and apply a scheme of reserving the income tax for Federal application, returning a part of it to the States with the condition that they adopt reforms in the property tax, there seems little hope of any uniform reduction in the tax burden on farmers. Doubtless some gains will come out of the sheer insistence of the farm vote, made effectual in various state legislatures.

On the economic issue, the doctors plainly disagree. As a matter of fact, the results of proposed legislation are quite unpredictable, in any strict sense. The very causes of the farm depression are so extremely complex, the forces in play are so widespread, shifts in conditions are so probable, that he is indeed an adventurous soul who is confident of either success or failure of the various plans. But each plan is favored by a body of agricultural and general economists of such standing that the layman may well conclude that the schemes are worth trying. Furthermore, the farm situation is so desperate that common sense dictates that any plan that has a reasonable measure of promise should be given the opportunity of proving its value.





# Not in the

## Georgia's Spirit of '66

Intention to campaign for repeal of the 1866 Georgia law under which Angelo Herndon, young Cincinnati Negro, got an 18-to-20-year prison sentence in Atlanta recently for a speech on Communism, has been announced by the American Civil Liberties Union. "This is the most preposterous conviction for free speech in the United States since the war," declared Roger N. Baldwin, director of the Union. "Under a law passed when Georgia was in the hands of the carpet-baggers, and never before used, Herndon has been sent to prison for 18 to 20 years merely for a speech, on the ground that he attempted to incite his hearers to insurrection. The real reason he was convicted is that he is a Communist, and the Georgia authorities are determined to stop Communism among Negroes at any cost."

## Anti-Eviction

The Bronx Tenants Emergency League made public a letter recently written to Governor Lehman of New York by Matthew M. Levy, its chief counsel, requesting a conference so that the League and its affiliated progressive organizations and trade unions may lay before the Governor the full extent of the need for immediate emergency legislation and explain in detail the measures proposed by the League. The substance of the League's Jobless Anti-Eviction Bill provides (1) for a six-months stay in dispossession cases to unemployed tenants unable to pay their rent, instead of the inadequate five-day stay; (2) that the landlord be requested to show before he can maintain dispossession proceedings that he has a prospective tenant for the apartment and that there are no vacancies of similar apartments in the premises; and (3) for state and municipal appropriations of \$20,000,000 each to protect such unemployed tenants as are in danger of being evicted despite these restrictions.

## Cutting Costs, Not Pay

The Amalgamated Coöperative houses in New York have cut operating costs 35 per cent according to information from the Coöperative League—and without cutting wages! The Amalgamated was built, is owned, operated and tenanted by members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Its beautiful garden apartments on the edge of Van Cortlandt Park house 700 families, 85 per cent of whom are wage earners, according to Manager Abraham Kazan.

## The New Spanish Inquisition

Gregario Maranon is one of Spain's most eminent doctors, as well as one of the republican leaders in the revolutionary government. Because of the demands of his medical work on his time, he has not felt able to prepare speeches for the Cortes. To draw him out, some Spanish Socialists, as individuals, have had printed a bulky volume, entitled "The Work of Dr. Gregario Maranon, as Illustrated by His Complete Speeches in the Constitutional Cortes, 1931-1932." The book contains the word "Yes" twice and the word "No" once and dozens of perfectly blank pages. According to the Labor and Socialist Press Service, it has already sold over 50,000 copies!

## Pinchot Vetoes Militarism

Governor Pinchot has vetoed the resolution of the Pennsylvania General Assembly petitioning Congress to maintain existing armed forces at highest strength to impress nations abroad and workers at home. The resolution was slipped over on Socialist members of the Legislature by the trick of reading it in a noisy session without previous notice. When Socialist Representative Darlington Hoopes later attempted to attack the resolution he was ruled off the floor.

## Let's Have a War

"Rather than yield very far to the demand for abolition of private and unregulated competition in the production and marketing of goods—a demand which the recent wildfire spread of debate over the problems of technocracy has aroused—some of the most powerful elements in American business and politics prefer to gamble on a foreign war to send the unemployed back to work." So says Laurence Todd, Washington correspondent of the Federated Press. "That is why every scrap of fact and gossip concerning Japanese aggressions against China is eagerly read in Washington. It explains why army and navy officers are so ready to believe that the Japanese conquest of Manchuria will result in a Russo-Japanese war and in a Japanese attack on the American naval forces in the Far East. The army and navy are closely allied with big business. Officers of the forces of national defense step easily across the line to salaried positions in business concerns that have interests outside the United States. Business is in a desperate condition. Business magnates are worried over the possibility that the new Congress will lay an effective income tax which cannot be dodged by wash-sales of stocks. Their agents in the national capital are now murmuring that what we need, to get out of hard times, is a first-class war."

## The Fascist Octopus

The Italian Consular Agency in Yonkers, N. Y., has been summoning arbitrarily American citizens of Italian birth and questioning them in regard to their political beliefs. The Italian-Americans summoned, who are all opposed to the Fascist regime, have been advised by the Consul to investigate its benefits.

## Alien Registration Defeated

The Michigan law of 1931 which required all aliens in the state to register and present proof of legal entry was declared unconstitutional and its enforcement forbidden by a Federal court decision.

## The Farmers' Dilemma

A report was recently made on the agricultural situation by the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities. The professors' diagnosis states that the prices of farm products are now at 55 per cent of pre-war averages while farm costs are at 140 per cent.

## A Program for Wisconsin

Socialist legislators will present a complete program to the State Legislature dealing with unemployment insurance, state banks, city-county government consolidation, workmen's compensation, and other matters in line with Socialist beliefs. Walter Polakowski will carry the brunt of the Socialists' attack in the State Senate, and Ed Kiefer will be the party's floor leader in the lower house.

## Static

The Japanese authorities are always on guard against those who would circulate "dangerous thoughts" among the people of the Island Empire. A strict censorship takes care of the newspapers. But the radio offered another problem. The stations in Japan are readily controlled. But up till now it has been easy for the Japanese to tune in on Chinese, Russian, European, and even American broadcasts. Obviously this is too dangerous an exposure. The Osaka Communications Bureau found the solution to this problem. Whenever "dangerous" broadcasts are on the air, a "blot-out" broadcast is put on by the Japanese. This is done by broadcasting meaningless sounds on the same wave-length used by the foreign radio station. Previously the Japanese were able to listen in on broadcasts from Shanghai, Manila, Hanoi, Nanking, Peiping, Habarovsk, Vladivostok, and various stations in Europe and the U. S. Now these stations are "blotted out" the minute they broadcast "dangerous ideas."



# Headlines

## Gas Masks for Sale

By way of the British *New Clarion*, labor weekly, come reports of a German newspaper which last December contained an advertisement by a hat store, reading: "A sensible present this Christmas is a modern gas mask! The next war will be a poison gas war! Buy a gas mask now!"

## Cows—Ten Cents

Iowa farmers are just as determined as Pennsylvania farmers about foreclosures but they put a higher value on their livestock. When George Rosander was sold out under a \$2,500 mortgage, cows brought 10 cents, horses 15 cents and a tractor \$1.50. Pennsylvanians recently only bid a nickel a head for livestock. The Rosander sale netted the mortgage-holder \$45.05 on his \$2,500.

## Protest Restores Jobs

All students thrown out of their jobs at International House, the Rockefeller dormitory at the University of Chicago, by the management's economy drive, were restored after a mass protest by student residents. The student workers had been receiving 40 cents an hour for their work but had to take it out in room and board at the house. The management fired them and hired outside help at 20 cents an hour, cash. Other students in the house organized a protest and after negotiation and protest the management backed down.

## Machines and Cigars

The introduction of machines into the cigar industry has meant protracted unemployment or greatly reduced earnings to many workers, according to a recent study made by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. This survey, covering some 25,000 women and about 100 cigar factories, shows how workers have lost ground with improved technological methods in one specific industry. The study also shows the effects of greatly improved machinery in the cigarette industry. The industries themselves are forging ahead, having produced 124 billion cigarettes and 6¼ billion cigars in 1930. Tracing this growth by census figures during the 10-year period from 1919 to 1929, the bulletin makes clear that while the total value of the products added by manufacture in the two industries combined increased by almost 70 per cent, wages paid decreased by 23 per cent. That machines are definitely taking the place of men and women workers in cigar manufacture is further indicated by the fact that the increase in horsepower is tremendous and the average number of wage-earners is declining greatly.

## Millionaires in Parliament

Randolph Churchill, in the *Sunday Dispatch*, as reported in the (British) *New Leader*, lists eight Tory members of Parliament who are millionaires, seven who are sons of millionaires, three who are wives of millionaires, and two who are husbands of millionaires. A millionaire in Great Britain, it should be remembered, is the owner of at least a million pounds, not dollars.

## To Him That Hath

Large depositors in the East Tennessee National Bank were tipped off to its failing condition while small depositors were kept in ignorance, according to Hal Clements, United States internal revenue collector for Tennessee, who claims it would have been impossible for small depositors to have withdrawn the large sums taken out of the bank shortly before it closed. Little hope is seen for depositors to get back their deposits, which total less than \$9,000,000. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has first claim on \$8,500,000 of the bank's funds. The bank was the largest and oldest in eastern Tennessee.

## Brooklyn Edison Defiant

While a delegation from the National Committee on Utilities and Labor and the Brotherhood of Edison Employees attempted to present a resolution demanding rate cuts and reinstatement of 5,000 employees, the board of directors of the Brooklyn Edison Company declared its regular dividend of \$2 a share. The delegation, which included Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Paul Blanshard, both of the City Affairs Committee, was refused information as to where the board was meeting. The delegation charges the board met at the offices of the Public Service Commission in secret conference. Milo R. Maltbie, chairman of the commission, announced a hearing would be held Feb. 8 to determine whether the commission has the right to investigate the Brooklyn Edison's labor policies. The resolution which the delegation attempted to present scored the company for paying the highest dividends in its history during three years of the depression—totaling \$26,000,000—while it fired 5,000 without cause and cut wages \$7,500,000. Rates are double those of more than 20 other metropolitan districts, the resolution declared, and it demanded the company suspend its dividend and devote the money to reinstating discharged employees, reducing rates to unemployed customers and continuing electric service for its discharged employees for six months without charge.

## Household Pets

The Broadway wag who suggested that the depression could be lifted by placing a stiff tax on lap dogs was not far from wrong. According to the Humane Society Commissioner of Los Angeles, \$351,000,000 is spent annually in the United States to feed household pets.

## British Churchmen Aroused

"We are profoundly impressed by the visible abundance of the world's actual wealth of supplies—the gifts with which God in His bounty has so richly endowed us. We refuse to believe that, where material resources and technical skill exist in such plenty, it is past man's wit or zeal so to adjust the distribution of that wealth as to satisfy true human needs. *The situation is a challenge for the reconsideration of existing theories and practice in economics and finance, and of the artificial barriers which prevent the exchange of goods between the nations.*" These are the conclusions reached by the (British) Council of Christian Ministers, of which the Bishop of Lichfield and Dr. Scott Lidgett, president of the Methodist Church, are joint chairmen. The Council has issued a statement on the present economic distress, signed by thirty Church of England representatives (including ten bishops), and leading representatives of the Nonconformist Churches. The above conclusions are contained in the statement, and the following are further extracts: "There is a moral obligation on all Christian people, in view of the grave failure of present economic practice, to re-examine their standard of values and their attitude towards material wealth, and on all economists and financiers to re-examine accepted theories in the light of present realities. *We are also convinced that no mere attempt to restore the conditions of the past can be successful, nor, if it were to succeed, would it be satisfactory. Our social life has to be rebuilt, and for that rebuilding account must be taken of the difference to the whole system of employment which mechanical improvements and scientific discoveries have made.*" On the day on which the above statement appeared in the press (January 5), there was also a report of the opening of the Student Christian Movement Conference at Edinburgh with a paper by Canon F. R. Barry, Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford. He, too, uttered an indictment of the present system in the following emphatic terms: "*While the world slips down from chaos to catastrophe we sit and starve in the midst of plenty, content with the economics of Bedlam, not because any sane man believes in them, but for sheer lack of faith in anything else.*"



# Building a Militant Mine Union

JOHN HERLING

THE angriest workers in America are the miners of Illinois. In the tent colonies of West Virginia miners and their families fret and starve their way through the winter. In Kentucky they have been tortured into helplessness, while their comrades are sent to jail for life. In Illinois the miners' anger is real, electric, organized: out of it has come the Progressive Miners of America.

The Illinois miners are disillusioned, but not defeated, men. Their disillusionment has been a long and steady process. Nor is theirs the quick anger which is spent in a heated moment. For 40 years they have been the backbone of the United Mine Workers of America. Since 1890 coal miners and their sons in Illinois have learned the lessons of organization. By organization they freed themselves from the slavery of company scrip and company store, and built what at one time was the most militant working-class power in America. In Illinois they have not forgotten the blood and suffering which poured like mortar into the foundations of the U. M. W. of A. or the memory of Virden's Day, the most sacred in a miner's calendar. For Virden's Day commemorates the 13th of October, 1898, when miners were killed fighting to preserve the eight-hour day. No miner in Illinois works on October 13 and no operator would care to ask him to.

When the Progressive Miners of America was formed last September, some of its founders were men who had helped build the older union. One veteran, speaking on behalf of others, declared: "For many years the name 'United Mine Workers of America' has been as close to me as anything in this whole world. I joined it when a little boy in a meeting held in the woods. But today there is only one hope left for us and that is to leave the parasites that infest this union."

John L. Lewis came up out of the mines near Panama, Illinois. These Illinois miners know him; they knew his father. They hate him as a worker who has betrayed workers. He has been the president of the United Mine Workers of America since 1919. He has controlled since that time the largest and most regularly dues paying membership in the American Federation of Labor. Once he was the president of an organization numbering all told half a million men. Today he can claim for his organization in Illinois not more than a third of the 45,000 active miners. He failed to organize the coal-fields in Kentucky and West Virginia; the organized miners

of the northern coal fields have had to compete against non-union labor with which operators have felt encouraged to open additional mines.

Two years ago, when Oscar Ameringer, Alex Howat, Powers Hapgood, and John Brophy strove to build the Reorganized United Mine Workers against the entrenched officialdom, John H. Walker got himself elected president of District 12; not long after, he threw his membership back to Lewis. Later a rank and file movement was attempted within the U. M. W. A. Ray Edmondson, Lewis's agent in the southern Illinois fields, broke that up.

AFTER the old contract between the operators and the U. M. W. expired last March, a referendum was ordered on the new wage scale. Throughout the state miners carried on agitation and meetings against the five-dollar-day basic wage which had been negotiated for them by their officials. Many miners, it is true, felt that under the prevailing conditions that wage was perhaps the best obtainable. But to prevent the possibility of the vote's going the wrong way Lewis men broke up meetings, and sheriffs and deputies were brought into play. Despite acts of terrorism, the membership voted against the negotiated scale. The officials ordered another vote. When they saw that this vote was going against them, tally sheets were mysteriously stolen, thus creating the situation they desired. They declared a state of emergency and signed the contract. Miners who had been appointed watchers at the election charged in sworn affidavits that the stolen tally sheets were thrown into a car belonging to and driven by Fox Hughes, vice-president of the Walker union. Hughes threatened suit against a radio station which broadcast these affidavits, but has not made good his threat.

In October, running hard for Congressman-at-large on the Democratic ticket, Walker Nesbit, secretary-treasurer of the Walker organization, but apparently more eager to go to Washington, asserted: "The rank and file resent the idea of stealing the election returns and forcing them back to mines by coercion and intimidation. There is some logic in their contentions." Mr. Nesbit needed votes, and Gerry Allard, editor of *The Progressive Miner*, denounced the Nesbit statement as a political maneuver; yet, whatever his aim, Mr. Nesbit spoke the truth.

In the meantime, following a call issued early in September, a convention of the rank and file had met at Gillespie. The West Virginia Mine Workers' Union



sent fraternal delegates; miners came from Nova Scotia. Thousands marched down the main street of Gillespie. Claude Percy, who had never held office in a union before, was elected temporary president. For four months Percy has carried on the battle without rest. Just a miner, with the trust of thirty thousand miners reposed in him, Percy is a forty-years' product of a class-conscious rank and file. This miniature revolution in Illinois, with so many portents for the working class, has been able to produce leadership. It is this ability to bring forth new leaders, when the old ones have died or betrayed it, which demonstrates the vitality and resilience of the radical working-class movement.

Mr. Lewis has tried to dismiss as a "spasm" this movement headed by the P. M. A. In the pages of the *United Mine Workers Journal* and the *Illinois Miner* his editorial writers have been straining for words adequate to describe the Progressive Miners: "mongrel aggregation" is the most pleasant among the terms employed. Lewis has been voted out of the Panama, Illinois local, which went over to the new union. On September 15, the *Journal* declared: "The attempt to form a miners' organization in Illinois dual to the United Mine Workers of America is already meeting with failure, less than two weeks after the movement started." Three months later, on December 15, the same publication said: "The Progressive Union, of course, is on its last legs and the wise officials of the coal companies know it and want nothing to do with a sinking ship."

**W**HEN the new union was launched the problem of relief became pressing. A state-wide Ladies' Auxiliary was formed. Its president is Mrs. Agnes Burns Wieck of Belleville, Illinois, an organizer of reputation, active in the organization of telephone girls, and in the policemen's strike in Boston, as well as the Actors' Equity strike. To the Ladies' Auxiliaries came women from all over the state. "There is no peace for labor. We, sisters, must face that fact. We must fight on and on because the capitalists will make us fight. This movement is going to educate you and some day you are going to wake up and wonder if it is really you." On January 26, seven thousand determined women, miners' wives and daughters, headed by Mrs. Wieck, marched down the streets of Springfield and demanded peace in the mining camps. Fifty women dressed in black led the auxiliaries. Their men had been killed in the Moweaqua mine disaster on Christmas Day. These thousands of Progressive women jammed the state grounds while their committee presented demands to Governor Horner: restoration of civil liberties in the strike area, increased state unemployment relief, enactment of unemployment insurance financed by industry and the state through income and inheritance taxes.

The state has been divided into about 45 relief districts. Soup kitchens for hundreds of school children at Kincaid and Tovey are conducted by miners' wives and daughters. They remake old clothes, themselves investigate needy families, appear before county relief organizations, and are active on committees of the unemployed. For relief the union has taxed every working miner one dollar "a pay"; and the miners around Springfield, Illinois, have assessed themselves 10 per cent because the strike now rages most bitterly in the Springfield and Taylorville areas.

Over 150 operators all over the state have signed up with the P. M. A. But the theatre of the mine war is in Taylorville and Springfield, where are located the twelve mines belonging to the Peabody-Insull interests which make the spine of the Illinois Operators' Association. While John L. Lewis attended the A. F. of L. convention in Cincinnati, the officials of the coal companies went into negotiations with the officers of the Progressives. Lewis stormed back from the convention early in December, and immediately a statement was issued by the Peabody superintendent through the offices of the United Mine Workers in Springfield, calling off the conference with Percy and the others. Lewis affirmed, "My union will continue to expect city, state and county to aid in carrying out the policy of the United Mine Workers."

To maintain this policy miners have been killed, farmers have been drafted to do work in the mines, workers from the West Virginia and Kentucky fields have been called in. Two such workers came up to the Progressive headquarters in Taylorville by mistake. When it was explained to them that a strike was on and that the U. M. W. and the Peabody company were trying to run the mine with scabs, they said, very much abashed, "Well, son, feed us and we'll grab us a couple of box cars back to Kentucky." Hundreds of miners have been thrown into jail and put under bond, charged with a variety of crimes. What are they? In their own words, mostly "mopery, dopery, and attempt to talk. Hell, brother, the sheriff arrests us because we're fighting John Lewis."

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, has issued a blast against the new union by announcing to a local union and a central trades body in Illinois which had been contributing relief to the P. M. A. that the Progressive Miners Union was "Dual to the United Mine Workers of America and has no standing or relationship with the American Federation of Labor." From what impartial height does Mr. Green judge the workers in the Progressive Union? Mr. Green served under John L. Lewis as secretary of the United Mine Workers of America until 1924, when he was elected to the presidency of the A. F. of L. He is one of the eight delegates elected to represent the United Mine Workers at the annual A. F. of L. convention over which he presides.





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## Workers' War Resistance

*The World Congress Against War. American Committee for Struggle Against War. Five cents.*

**A**CTING on a call from Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, sponsored by outstanding radical intellectuals of various countries, a conference of workers' delegates and representatives of pacifist bodies was held last August 27-29 at Amsterdam. After a stormy period of preparation, during which the Second International proscribed the Congress as Communist-inspired and Communist-dictated, and during which numerous cases of friction developed between those in charge and invited pacifist groups, more than 2,000 attended the Congress, which in its peregrinations across Europe had been barred several times by apprehensive capitalist governments. This booklet contains a record of the conference proceedings, a manifesto adopted at the sessions, and a declaration by M. Rolland.

One can read it only with mixed feelings. Many of those in charge of the work of the Congress in this country have been conspicuous by their absence from peace groups and peace efforts; not a few have rather consistently vented their contempt of pacifists. But on the whole it must be said that fair play was the keynote of the procedure here, a sincere attempt to secure a broad basis of coöperation. And if pacifists were sometimes restive, this might have been thought symptomatic of the manner in which too many of them have long been content to depend on talk for war prevention. The new group, the world around, obviously wanted to do more than talk. Theirs was a program, as it eventually developed, for massed war resistance by workers, with the munitions and transport workers in strategic rôles, to make the waging of war an utter impossibility.

In carrying forward its plans in various countries to assess national resources in war resistance of this character, the Congress was, after all, only following a year behind the Lyons conference of the War Resisters' International, which was working on this problem long before some of these neo-war resisters woke up to the emergency. The great gain from the Congress was its attempt at least to stir labor circles, for until the world's workers are mobilized squarely behind a war resistance program, it will be impossible to play the final trump card against Mars. Other groups can wield a potent influence; but they do not have the ultimate *sine qua non* of war resistance—labor power.

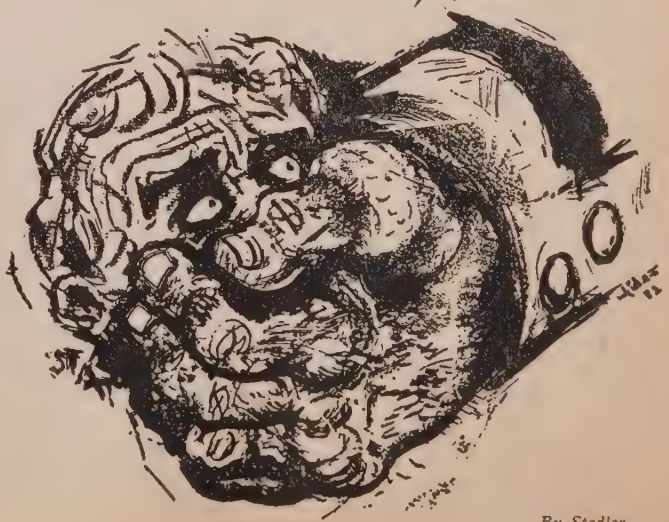
Precisely at this point, however, one is obliged to raise a number of inquiries. Had this Congress, with all of its delegates put together, any appreciable influence over labor? It had not; the answer may be given categorically. Its greatest hold in a crisis would be on Communist trade unionists, possibly in Germany; elsewhere it would be pitifully futile. The great trade unions of England, which blocked the 1920 war against Russia, were largely out of sympathy with the Congress. Thus one of the perennial tragedies of history stands sharpened over this affair. For with

the Second International hostile, a "united front" is impossible; and even though the International showed, in my judgment, a quite unnecessary timidity over the Congress (since it could have swung tremendous power in the gathering) its fears, judging *alone* on the basis of past experience with the "united front maneuver" of communism, were warranted. So were the accusations levelled against the Second International, also, for its abandonment of internationalism during the World War. The outstanding weakness of European radicals is that they dote on history and cannot extricate themselves from it for progressive future policy. It is so much easier to fight the conflicts of the past than to grapple with the intricate problems of present-day radical statesmanship!

There is a certain naiveté about the expressions that emanate from the Amsterdam gathering. The manifesto condemns armaments, but seems strangely silent about the inculcation of militarism in Russia; it upholds the "steadfast peace policy systematically pursued by the Soviet Union," a policy which does indeed deserve favorable comment on the whole but no such encomium as this. Its contention that Japan was preparing war against Soviet Russia in the Far East reads curiously, no matter how justified it seemed last summer, in the light of the Soviet-Japanese oil agreements and the way in which the Soviets have eased the course of Japan's invading troops. The League of Nations is criticized, justifiably, but the unqualified condemnation by the Congress is in marked contrast to the attitude of the U. S. S. R. itself.

Concerning conscientious objection, those who drew up the manifesto (though certainly not all those who attended) must be

## Wartime: The Voice of Conscience



—By Stadler



given credit for egregious illiteracy. They speak ironically of the "noble dreams" of those who confine themselves "to means of resistance foredoomed to failure; notably the—unfortunately futile—sacrifice constituted by the noble attitude adopted after a declaration of war by conscientious objectors, and by all others who fling themselves individually against a collective disaster." Surely, there is no excuse for this sort of folderol. There is a large body of literature available for greenhorns which would demonstrate that not for years has there been even a sizable handful of those who credit merely individual war resistance with any social utility beyond inspiration to coming generations. And as for taking up war resistance *after* war starts, nobody ever held such a view. Nor were the 11,000 in England who opposed participation in the War merely individuals; they were fairly well organized in the No Conscription Fellowship. Our own situation was less admirable, but even here organized groups, some of them proletarian, stood out. The question is not over taking a previous attitude, if some of the Quakers alone be exempt from discussion; everyone else who holds to war resistance believes in advance declarations. The real question is that of obtaining enough people to count and prevent a war; especially of gaining

power enough in strategically located labor bodies. But when it comes to that, the groups behind the Amsterdam Congress are often just as futile as any body of the type they condemn. Particularly is this true in America. You cannot stop war with a labor movement until you have a labor movement.

Meantime, the watchword should be study of war resistance resources, plans for mobilizing pacifist war opposition in a crisis, the whole technique of breaking the weapons of war. Then, at least, when there is a labor movement we shall have something to offer. But the study will need perspective and a mood of realism manifested neither at Amsterdam nor as yet in its American follow-up committee.

D. A.

## 100,000,000 Dupes

*100,000,000 Guinea Pigs: Dangers in Everyday Foods, Drugs, and Cosmetics.* By Arthur Kallet and F. J. Schlink. Vanguard Press. 320 pages. \$2.00.

**P**OISONOUS drugs, cosmetics, and foods may be offered for sale provided that they are not already *officially* known to have killed or seriously injured human beings. The proof that they are deleterious is secured by selling them to us: they are tried out on us as if we were laboratory guinea pigs, say Messrs. Kallet and Schlink, technical experts of high standing who seek with this volume to warn the public and to improve government practice. The facts that they recite are amazing. Deteriorated food materials and injurious preservatives, bleaches, and unremoved insecticides abound in spite of "pure food laws." In spite of campaigns against patent medicines, \$350,000,000 worth are sold each year, bringing woe to many thousands either by direct injury (death in numerous known cases) or by deceiving victims into doctoring themselves when they need a physician. Partly spoiled or inert drugs are sold for use in obstetric wards and operating rooms. Health foods, obesity cures, depilatories, hair dyes, and face bleaches are producing sickness and disfigurement. Here you can read the names of scores of them.

Any reviewer would enjoy making a "story" out of these revelations. But the chief significance of this book is political; it relates to the functions of government. Our Food and Drug administration exists ostensibly for our protection. It does protect us from direct lies upon labels, but advertisements may and do lie without stint. It does confiscate a few deleterious articles, and some fines are imposed, yet the men who make and market even the worst products are not punished as counterfeiters and confidence men are. It is less risky to poison me than it is to steal my clothes. Though there are 2,400 inspectors of meats, there are only 65 for all the other commodities in question—12 less than the number employed to prevent hog cholera. In short, the flow of poison is not being stopped. Why? Because: (1) the law is weak, and the appropriation is inadequate; (2) the most valuable punitive provisions of the law are unused; (3) the benefit of the doubt is given to the manufacturer, not to us whose life and health are at stake; (4) most official action takes place behind the scenes, essential facts being kept permanently secret; and (5) government at this point is in the interest of investors, not in the interest of the mass of consumers.

The authors show that improvements could be made even under the present law by invoking its full punitive authority, taking the initiative that it permits, and practicing aggressive publicity; but they show also that we require a stiffer law backed by a larger appropriation, and above all a radically revised point of view.

## This Week's Anniversary

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

BORN FEBRUARY 15, 1820

We have never from the beginning had any genuine republican form of government in any State in the Union, for in no State have "the people" ever been permitted to elect their representatives. Even in Massachusetts and Vermont, the States nearest republican, only one half the people, the male inhabitants, are allowed to vote. In other States it is only "all free, white male persons," and in others still, all "free, white male inhabitants owning so many slaves or so much property." It is not true therefore that *the people* have ever exercised the right to prescribe the qualifications of voters or officers. . . . That this superior "white male" class may not be trusted to legislate even for their own mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters, the cruel statutes of nearly all the States, both slave and free, give ample proof. In scarcely a State has a married woman the legal right to the control of her person, to the earnings of her hand and brain, to the guardianship of her children, to sue or be sued, or to testify in the courts, and by these laws women have suffered wrongs and outrages second only to those of chattel slavery itself. If this be true, that this so-called superior class cannot legislate justice even to those nearest and dearest in their own hearts and homes, is it not a crime to place a separate race, one hated and despised, wholly at the will of the governing class?

—From *Address at Ottumwa, Kansas, July 4, 1865*



Commodities must be known to be wholesome before they are admitted to commerce. The burden of proof that they are so must be assumed by the government and enforced upon manufacturers. Hence, laboratories of research, supervision of manufacturing at every stage, and much more are advocated. Here the authors, being engineers, stop. Their job has been done, and well done.

Yet the major question remains: How bring about these drastic changes? Will the Democrats, or the Republicans, or the two combined, reverse their policy of serving the investor first? No, they will do nothing of the kind. And the medical profession, which should be the health department of the nation in its totality, is itself bound and fettered. It cannot fulfill its normal function in relation to the whole people because medical practice, as yet, is a financial relation between individual and individual. Our political condition does not permit the application of science on a national scale to the simplest needs of our physical existence.

GEORGE A. COE

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Cooperative Distributors

THE time has arrived when the non-profit organizations and the ultimate consumer must forge an effective weapon for their own protection against the quality and price of goods supplied them by a disorganized market operated solely for private profit and continually tearing down labor standards.

At least one non-profit consumers' educational bureau exists which has demonstrated its usefulness. But the individual consumer and the non-profit organizations, of which there are many in the country, serving the needs of literally millions of people, increasingly find themselves unable to apply a cumulative knowledge in their own behalf because there existed until very recently no non-profit organization for checking up, purchasing and distributing merchandise. With these ideas in mind, a group of socially minded technicians, coöperators and labor people have been meeting for over a year in an effort to explore the possibilities of such an enterprise, and have finally formed an organization known as Coöperative Distributors, Inc., which will function on Rochdale principles in defense of the ultimate consumer.

The depression has created unemployment among many specialists, who are only too glad to partake in preparing the necessary groundwork for an enterprise of this kind. One chemist is already making a government formula ink and similar products which can be distributed immediately. A production engineer is checking up on a long list of office supplies. A heating engineer is checking up on fuel costs for settlement houses and similar institutions.

Already, only three weeks since Coöperative Distributors came into being, opportunities are presenting themselves for the distribution of standard commodities in daily use which can be delivered direct to the consumer without the overhead of the store method of distribution. Twenty organizations have already declared their desire for such service in less than three weeks, some of which are now purchasing from \$1,000 to \$5,000 worth of supplies per year, and it is intended to start operations as early as possible, probably by April 1.

Thousands of dollars are wasted annually by organizations whose buying methods are shoddy, to say the least. It is well known to purchasing agents, for instance, that a monopolistic concern has for years held up consumers to the tune of \$2.50 per pound

for mimeo ink, when the total costs of ingredients, package and labor hardly reaches 30 cents. A stencil in common use, for which the consumer is charged from \$2.75 to \$3.50 per quire, and upon which a hundred or more claims have been filed to keep competitors out of the market, are made at an estimated cost of less than 50 cents. Typewriter ribbons are sold to the government under Bureau of Standards specifications for \$1.87 per dozen and by the same concerns to the consumer for from \$5 to \$10 per dozen in pretty packages. A certain carbon paper can be bought from the factory for 90 cents per box and from one of the largest dealers in town for \$1.50 under another brand name.

Part of the program of Coöperative Distributors, Inc. is to distribute commodities on an "open formula—openly arrived at" basis. As the association develops, it will to an increasing extent discover factory as well as distributive costs in greater detail. It aims to add such information to the label, thus giving the consumer an analysis of the price he paid and how it was absorbed.

People interested in a new social order may well imagine the educational value of such a program. The labor cost of many articles is infinitesimal in comparison to selling price. An analysis of the costs of production and distribution of each commodity in the hands of the consumer will serve to illustrate the Tragedy of Waste in exploiting people as producers at one end and as consumers at the other.

Further details concerning Coöperative Distributors, Inc. may be had by writing to the undersigned at 128 East 16 Street, New York, N. Y.

E. J. LEVER

### Voluntary Socialization

H. J. VOORHIS' article, "Socialize the Land," in your issue of January 18, emphasizes some generally overlooked facts. But it seems to overlook some equally important ones also. Having spent some 20 years in farming and agricultural extension work, I realize the bitter resistance that would be offered to a program such as Mr. Voorhis suggests. Many farmers are in a predicament from which this offers the best escape, and they would welcome a plan involving the state's assuming the burdens of ownership and granting them a long term lease. In other sections of the country unanimous *armed* resistance might be expected.

Both groups may be satisfied, however, and a painless beginning be made toward what will eventually be complete socialization of the land. Some states could and should provide immediate legislation permitting *voluntary* socialization. Farmers laboring under an impossible burden of debt will jump at this chance of state-guaranteed tenure, so long as they live on and work the farm. Privately owned farms will continue on the payment of taxes as at present. The rental demanded by the state can and should be regulated to insure a standard of living and return to "socialized" farmers fully equal or superior to that enjoyed by private owners. Gradually, the socialization will increase through voluntary action. Idle lands should be taxed more heavily than comparable tracts that are socially productive to bring them into state control, good land becoming available for farming and non-agricultural tracts reverting to state forests. The whole discussion of our present economic plight overlooks, or fails to take adequate account of, the dependence of the human race on the land for subsistence. Any plan for rebuilding a sound economic structure must be based on this fact.

C. W. MASON



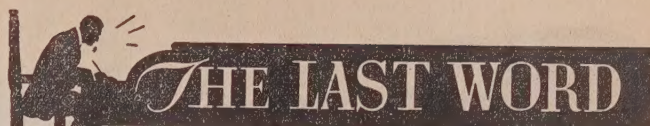
## Reply to Dr. Robinson

I STRONGLY question the conclusions of Dr. William J. Robinson, presented in the correspondence columns of your January 4th issue, though I do not doubt his sincerity. I see no evidence that the Five Year Plan has been as complete a material failure as he imagines it, at least as far as the control figures would indicate. Is there not a valuable non-material achievement in the spirit aroused by the Russian leaders—a direct refutation of the popular fallacy that under a socialized government there would be no room for initiative or energy? Those who are without initiative in Russia are the non-Communists, the inert, older mass of peasantry. Indeed, the world has found that a far higher incentive for work can be inspired than mere acquisition—that of service.

Has our so blatantly vaunted capitalism been such a glorious success as to occasion the contempt of Dr. Robinson for the birth-pains of New Russia? What right have we to cavil? Our industrial system is highly perfected. We have more technicians than all of Europe combined—300,000 in round numbers. But can starving men eat the iron and stone of our now useless industrial plants? Can mothers feed their crying children on the superabundance of broken-down machinery that we now possess?

*Deep Springs, Calif.*

DRAYTON S. BRYANT



ON my reference shelf is a useful work entitled "Words Confused and Misused." Its author, however, left out one of the most important cases, namely, "friend". I mean, particularly, the use of this word as applied to the person who is a "friend of peace". For if peace is not to be delivered to its enemies, it must be delivered from some of its friends.

I may have mentioned here, years ago, the man who wanted to build a mid-Atlantic isle where the peace societies could meet untrammelled, out beyond the twelve-mile limit of national influence. Then there was the sincere woman who started a perfunctory chain-prayer for peace, not realizing until she came to me that such a chain always breaks at its strongest link. Still green in memory's garden is the conscientious objector, so-called, who couldn't "bear arms" but who accepted a post in the heavy artillery.

The other night I met a doctor, not unknown in his field, which is the lower left side of the human torso. He proved to me in irrefutable logic, based on post mortems of 300 tough galoots, that war and violence everywhere come not from economic roots, nor from nationalist psychoses. They come, invariably, from gastritis.

What time your tum is feeling bum,  
Your actions are outrageous;  
'Tis then, my friends, your patience ends  
And peace becomes umbrageous.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

## "Blind Man's Holiday"

"BLIND Man's Holiday," a drama by Saul Waldbaum dealing with the role of the white-collar worker in an economic depression, has been chosen by the Workers' Theatre for its second production of the current season. The play, directed by David B. Rossi, will have its premiere in New York on February 25 and will be presented in Philadelphia on March 4. The Theatre will continue its sponsorship of the lecture series on The Social Aspects of the Theatre. Among the speakers presented thus far have been Elmer Rice, Lee Simonson, Anita Block and Philip Barber. Others to be heard from include Bertram Block, Gluck-Sandor and John Erskine.

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## A Request

We would be grateful for the return of any extra copies our readers may have of our issues of September 14, and October 5, 1932, and January 11, 18 and 25 of this year.

Please Address to

THE WORLD TOMORROW

52 Vanderbilt Avenue

New York, N. Y.

THESE four, and four new ones with them, I'd like to send as a committee of eight to settle the boundary dispute—a fifty-years' job—between Lollapoloosia and the Imagi Nation. One of the latest members of my deputation would be the editorial writer of the New York Times, who discovered from a scientist's study that the United States and the British Empire between them controlled more than two-thirds of the world's mineral resources, and who concluded, therefore, that by withholding mineral supplies from the warlike remainder of the planet, these two pacific peoples could save the future from conflict. Good old Anglo-Saxons! Land of the King! God save the free!

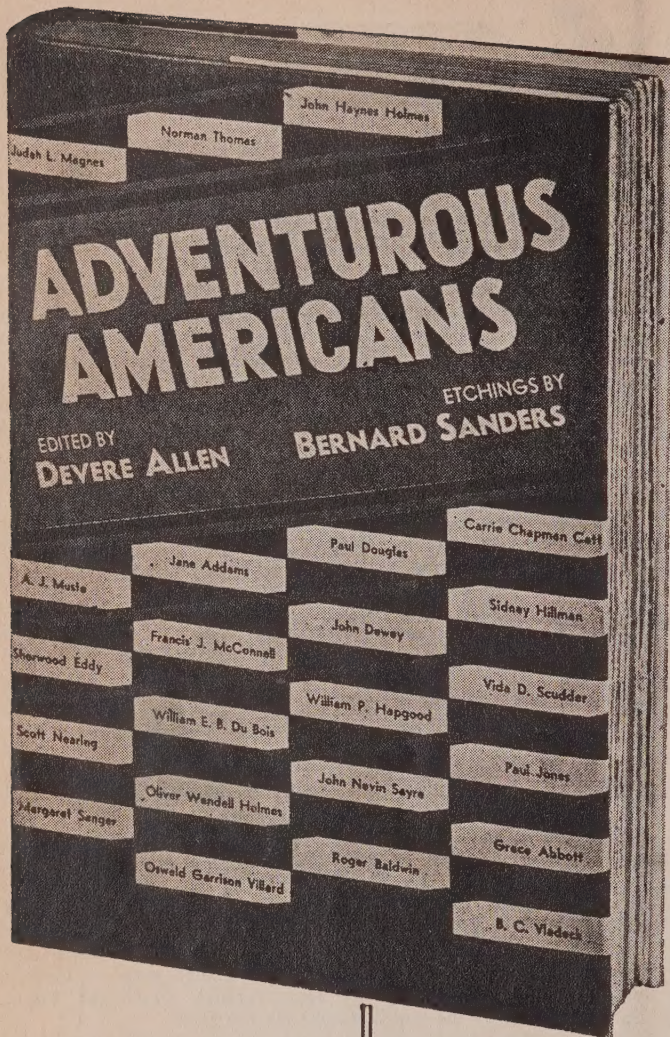
Next is Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, distinguished international lawyer, recently put forward for the Cabinet by a great liberal weekly, who told the League of Nations Association that our "peace machinery" would "go by the board" unless it was able to safeguard peace by war. Eccentricus himself has been leery of official economic sanctions, knowing that boycotts will be boy-cotts. But Mr. Coudert says they don't go far enough. Hope is void and faith is nil, to his view, unless we can end wars and keep peace by fighting. It takes a lawyer to figure out how to stop a fire by pouring on more gasoline.

Mr. Herbert S. Houston belongs on my commission, too, for his nimble mind. Speaking with Mr. Coudert, he described the Stimson non-recognition doctrine as "an affront to Japan"; he praised Japan's handling of Manchukuo; and he suggested taking China out of the League and letting the other nations "aid and guide" her. Mr. Houston doesn't want poor China to have to travel on her own feet; he'd rather see her taken for a ride.

Just to be sure that the delegation would never get lonely for want of spontaneous fun, I'd send as the last member Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts, who has just accused Nicholas Murray Butler of sedition, charged the Rockefeller Foundation with the promotion of internationalism, and even intimated that the Carnegie Endowment has dared to further the cause of peace. Jocosé, indeed! But more. What undeserved, what shameless flattery!

*Eccentricus* ■





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